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MR. SUMNER'S RESOLUTIONS.

Introduced by Hon. Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, in the Senate of the United States, December 4, 1862.

Resolutions declaratory of the duty of Congress in respect to guarantees of the national security and the national faith in the

Resolved, That, in order to provide proper guarantees for security in the future, so that peace and prosperity shall surely prevail, and the pledged faith of the nation shall be preserved, it is the first duty of Congress to take care that no State declare to be in rebellion shall be allowed to resume its relations to the Union until after the proper performance of five several conditions, which the said declaration shall be submitted to a popular vote, and be sanctioned by a majority of the people of each State, respectively, as follows:

The complete re-establishment of loyalty as shown by an honest recognition of the

The complete suppression of all oligarchies, pretensions, and the complete enfranchisement of all citizens, so that there shall be no denial of rights on account of color or race; but justice shall be impartial, and all shall be equal before the law.

The organization of an educational system for the equal benefit of all, without distinction of color or race.

pledges never to join in any measure, direct or indirect, for their repudiation, or in any way tending to impair the national credit.

The organization of an educational system for the benefit of all, without any distinction of color or race.

The choice of citizens for office, whether State or national, of constant and undoubted loyalty, whose conduct and conversation shall give the assurance of peace and reconciliation.

Resolved. That, in order to provide these essential safeguards, without which the national security and the national faith with foreign powers cannot be preserved, the Government be authorized to exercise the power conferred by the constitution, but they must wait until these conditions are in all respects fulfilled.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

CRABTREE, PRESIDENT.

Concurrent resolution denouncing of the adoption of the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery :

WHEREAS, the Congress, by a vote of two thirds of both Houses, did heretofore propose to the Legislatures of the several States, for ratification, an amendment to the Constitution in the following words, to wit :

"ARTICLE XIII.

"SEC. 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary

abolishing slavery:

WHEREAS, the Congress, by a vote of two thirds of both Houses, did heretofore propose to the Legislatures of the several States, for ratification, an amendment to the Constitution in the following words, to wit:

"ARTICLE XIII.

Sec. 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

"Sec. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

AND WHEREAS, At the time when such amendment was submitted, as well as since, there were sundry States which, by reason thereof, were in rebellion against the United States;

WHEREAS, the Congress, by a vote of seven yeas and three nays, adopted the Constitutional Amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery:

THAT, the Congress, by a vote of seven yeas and three nays, adopted the following amendments to the Constitution in the following words, to wit:

"ARTICLE XIII.

"SEC. 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

AND WHEREAS, At the time when such amendments were submitted to the States, as well as subsequent to the same, there were sundry States, to which, by the terms of the amendments, were without Legislatures; and that, while the submission was made in due and lawful manner to all the States, but not, as it could not be made to all the States, to the "Legislatures of the several States," in obedience to the provisions of the amendments, by both of the latter and the other States, the amendments, then being a less number of Legislatures of States than there were States, and whereas, since the Constitution expressly authorizes amendments to be made, and

"ARTICLE XIII.

"Sec. 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

"Sec. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

AND WHEREAS, At the time when such amendment was submitted, as well as since there were sundry States which, by reason of rebellion, withheld their Legislatures so that while the submission was made in such States, the amendment was not made in the constitutional form. It was not, as it could not be, made to all the States, but to the "Legislatures of the several States," in obedience to the letter and spirit of the provisions of the Constitution, and the Legislatures, there being a less number of Legislatures of States than there were States and whereas, since the Constitution expressly authorizes amendments to be made, any construction which would render the making of amendments at times impossible, must violate both its letter and its spirit; and whereas, to require the ratification to be by States without Legislatures of the States, by the "Legislatures of the States," in order to be pronounced valid would put it in the power of a long continued rebellion to suspend not only the peace of the nation, but its Constitution also; and whereas, from the terms of the Constitution and the nature of the amendment,

WHEREAS, the Congress, by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses, did heretofore propose to the Legislatures of the several States an amendment to the Constitution in the following words, to wit:

"ARTICLE XIII.

"SEC. 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been convicted, shall exist within the United States; nor any place subject to their jurisdiction.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

AND WHEREAS, At the time when such amendment was submitted, as well as since there were sundry States which, by reason of rebellion, were without Legislatures; so that, while the submission was made in due constitutional form, it was not, as it could not be, made to all the Legislatures of the several States. In obedience both to the letter and spirit of the provision of the Constitution authorizing amendments, there being a less number of Legislatures of States than there were States; and whereas, since the Constitution expressly authorizes amendments to be made, any construction thereof which would render the making of amendments at times impossible, must violate both its letter and its spirit; whereas, to require the ratification to be by States, this Legislature, as well as by the "Legislatures of the States," in order to be pronounced valid would put it in the power of a long continuing rebellion to suspend not only the peace of the Nation, but the execution of the law; whereas, from the terms of the Constitution and the nature of the case, it belongs to the two houses of Congress to determine when such ratification is complete; and whereas, more than three-fourths of the Legislatures of the several States have made have ratified such amendment; now, therefore,

Be it enacted by the Senate, the House of Representatives concurring, That the amendment abolishing slavery has become and is a part of the Constitution of the United States.

WHEREAS, the Congress, by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses, did heretofore propose to the Legislatures of the several States, for ratification, an amendment to the Constitution in the following words, to wit:

"ARTICLE XIII.

"Sec. 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

"Sec. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

AND WHEREAS, At the time when such amendment was submitted, as well as since there were sundry States which, by reason of their small number, were not Legislatures; so that, while the submission was made in due constitutional form, it was not, as it could not be, made to all the States, but to the "Legislatures of the several States," in obedience to the letter and spirit of the provision in the Constitution, that the Legislatures of the States then existing, and of those to be, there being a less number of Legislatures of States than there were States, and whereas, since the Constitution expressly authorizes amendments to be made, any construction which would render the making of amendments at times impossible, must violate both its letter and its spirit; and whereas, to require the ratification to be by States without Legislatures, would be to require the Legislatures of the States," in order to be pronounced valid, would put it in the power of a long continued rebellion to suspend not only the peace of the nation, but its Constitution also; and whereas, from the terms of the amendment, and the nature of the thing, it is manifest to the two houses of Congress to determine when such ratification is complete; and whereas, more than three-fourths of the Legislatures to which the proposition was made, have ratified such amendment; now, therefore,

Be it resolved by the Senate, the House of Representatives concurring, That the amendment abolishing slavery has become and is one of the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, That notwithstanding the foregoing resolution, and considering the great public interest which attaches to this question, that the Legislatures of the States which have not yet ratified, be permitted to express their concurrence therein by the usual form of ratification, and in the usual manner.

Resolved, That no one of the States to the Legislatures of which such amendment could not be submitted, by reason of its being

WHEREAS, the Congress, by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses, did heretofore propose to the Legislatures of the several States, that they should ratify and amend the Constitution in the following words, to-wit:

"ARTICLE XIII.

"SEC. 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

AND WHEREAS, At the time when such amendment was submitted, as well as since there were sundry States which, by reason of rebellion, were without Legislatures; so that, while the submission was made in due form, the States which were without Legislatures, be made to all the States, but to the "Legislatures of the several States," in obedience both to the letter and spirit of the provision of the Constitution authorizing amendment, there being a less number of Legislatures than of States, and in order to be made, and whereas, since the Constitution expressly authorizes amendments to be made, any construction thereof which would render the making of amendments at times impossible, must violate both its letter and its spirit; and whereas, to require the ratification to be by States without Legislatures, as well as by the "Legislatures of the States," in order to be pronounced valid, would put it in the power of a long continuing minority to prevent the ratification of the nation, but its Constitution also; and whereas, from the terms of the Constitution and the nature of the case, it belongs to the two houses of Congress to determine the mode of ratification is complete; and whereas, more than three-fourths of the Legislatures to which the proposition was made have ratified such amendment; now, therefore,

Be it *resolved by the Senate, the House of Representatives, and the joint meeting thereof, in Congress assembled*, That the amendment abolishing slavery has become, and is a part of the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, That notwithstanding the foregoing resolution, and considering the great public interest in the subject, the Legislatures which have not ratified the amendment be permitted to express their concurrence therein by the usual form of ratification, and in the usual manner.

Resolved, That no one of the States to the Legislatures of which such amendment could not be submitted, by reason of its being in rebellion against the United States and having no Legislature, be permitted to make its relations with the United States and Representatives admitted until its Legislature shall have first ratified such amendment in recognition of the accomplished fact.

DUTIES OF CONGRESS TOWARD LOYAL CITIZENS IN THE LATE REBEL STATES.

Resolutions declaratory of the duty of

abolishing slavery :

WHEREAS, the Congress, by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses, did heretofore propose to the Legislatures of the several States, for ratification, an amendment to the Constitution in the following words, to wit :

"ARTICLE XIII.

"Sec. 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

"Sec. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

AND WHEREAS, At the time when such amendment was submitted, as well as since, there were sundry States which, by reason of rebellion, were without Legislatures ; so that, while the submission was made in due constitutional form, it was not, as it could not be to all the States, but to the "Legislatures of the several States," in obedience both to the letter and spirit of the provision of the Constitution authorizing amendments, there being a less number of Legislatures of States than there were States ; and whereas, such Constitution expressly authorizes amendments "to be made, any construction thereof which would render the making of amendments at times impossible, must violate both its letter and its spirit ; and whereas, to require the ratification of the States without Legislatures, as well as by the "Legislatures of the States," in order to be pronounced valid, would put it in the power of a long continued rebellion to suspend not only the peace of the nation, but its Constitution also ; and whereas, by reason of the rebellion, the nature and the cause of the case, its duration and the nature of the case, to determine the two houses of Congress to determine when such ratification is complete ; and whereas, more than three-fourths of the Legislatures to which the proposition was submitted, have ratified such amendment ; now, therefore,

Be it resolved by the Senate, the House of Representatives concurring, That the amendment abolishing slavery has become and is a part of the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, That notwithstanding the foregoing resolution, and considering the great public interest which attaches to this question, the Legislatures which have not ratified the amendment be permitted to express their assent to the United States, in form of ratification, and in the usual manner.

Resolved, That no one of the States to the Legislatures of which such amendment could not be submitted, by reason of its being out of rebellion, and the United States, and having no Legislature, be permitted to resume its relations and have its Senators and Representatives admitted until its Legislature shall have first ratified such amendment in recognition of the accomplished fact.

DUTIES OF CONGRESS TOWARD LOYAL CITIZENS IN THE LATE REBEL STATES.

Resolutions declaratory of the duty of Congress, especially in respect to loyal citizens in the rebel States :

"Whereas, It is provided by the Constitution of the United States, that the Congress shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government ; and whereas, there are certain States where, by reason of rebellion, there are no State governments recognized by Congress ; and whereas, because of the rebellion, there are no States respectively to maintain State governments ;

WHEREAS, the Congress, by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses, did heretofore propose to the Legislatures of the several States, and to the Legislatures of the United States, in the following words, to wit:

"ARTICLE XIII.

"SEC. 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

AND WHEREAS, At the time when such amendment was submitted, as well as since there were sundry States which, by reason of rebellion, were without Legislatures; so that the submission was made in due constitutional form to the Legislatures of some, but not to all the States, but to the "Legislatures of the several States," in obedience both to the letter and spirit of the provision of the Constitution authorizing amendment, and to the meaning of the member of the Legislatures of States then there were States, and whereas, since the Constitution expressly authorizes amendments to be made, any construction thereof which would render the making of amendments at times impossible, must violate both its letter and its spirit; and whereas, to require the ratification to be by States without Legislatures, as well as by the "Legislatures of the States," in order to be pronounced valid, would be to require of some States continuing rebellion to suspend not only the provisions of the nation, but its Constitution also; and whereas, from the terms of the Constitution and the nature of the case, it belonged to the two-thirds of Congress to determine whether such ratification is complete, and whereas, more than three-fourths of the Legislatures to which the proposition was made have ratified such amendment; now, therefore,

Resolved, That notwithstanding the foregoing recitation, and considering the greater public interest which attaches to this question, the Legislatures which have not ratified the amendment be permitted to express their concurrence therein by the usual mode of ratification, and in the usual manner.

Resolved, That no one of the States to the Legislatures of which such amendment could not be submitted, by reason of its being in rebellion against the United States, shall be permitted to suspend its Constitution to resume its relations and have its Senators and Representatives admitted until its Legislature shall have first ratified such amendment in recognition of the accomplished fact.

DUTIES OF CONGRESS TOWARD LOYAL CITIZENS IN THE LATE REBEL STATES.

Resolutions declaratory of the duty of Congress, especially in respect to loyal citizens in the rebel States :

Resolved, It is provided by the Constitution of the United States that "the guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government;" and whereas, there are certain States where, by reason of rebellion, there are no State governments recognized by Congress; and whereas, because of the failure of such States to comply to maintain State government, it has become the duty of Congress, standing in the place of guarantor, where the principal has made a lapse, to provide governments, republican in form, and therefore, in order to declare the duty of Congress.

Resolved, That whenever a Convention is called in any of such States for the organization of a government, the following persons have a right to be represented therein, and to vote, to wit: "all persons who have taken no part in the rebellion, and

WHEREAS, the Congress, by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses, did heretofore propose to the Legislatures of the several States, a certain amendment to the Constitution in the following words, to wit:

"ARTICLE XIII.

"SEC. 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been convicted, shall exist within the United States; nor any place subject to their jurisdiction.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

AND WHEREAS, At the time when said amendment was submitted, as well as since, there were sundry States which, by reason of rebellion, were without Legislatures; so that, while the submission was made in due constitutional form, it was not, as it could not be, made to all the States, and the "Legislatures of the several States," in obedience both to the letter and spirit of the provision of the Constitution authorizing amendments, there being a less number of Legislatures of States than there were States; and whereas, since the Constitution expressly authorizes amendments to be made, any construction thereof which would render the making of amendments at times impossible, must violate both its letter and its spirit and, whereas, to require the ratification to be by State, without Legislature, as well as by the "Legislatures of the States," in order to be pronounced valid, would put it in the power of a long continuing rebellion to suspend not only the peace of the United States, but the Constitution, whereas, from the terms of the Constitution and the nature of the case, it belongs to the two houses of Congress to determine when such ratification is complete; and whereas, more than three-fourths of the Legislature of each State, when the amendment was made have ratified such amendment; now, therefore,

Be it enacted by the Senate, the House of Representatives concurring, That the amendment abolishing slavery has become and is a part of the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, That notwithstanding the foregoing resolution, and considering the great public interest which attaches to this question of Legislature, which have not ratified the amendment, be permitted to express their concurrence therein by the usual form of ratification, and in the usual manner.

Resolved, That no one of the States to the Legislature of which such amendment could not be submitted, by reason of its being in rebellion against the United States and having no Legislature, be permitted to resume its relations and have its Senators and Representatives admitted until its Legislature shall have ratified the amendment in recognition of the accomplished fact.

DUTIES OF CONGRESS TOWARD LOYAL CITIZENS IN THE LATE REBEL STATES.

Resolutions declaratory of the duty of Congress to the loyal respect to loyal citizens in the rebel States:

WHEREAS, It is provided by the Constitution, that "the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government;" and whereas, there are certain States where, by reason of rebellion, the said guarantee has not been recognized by Congress; and whereas, because of the failure of such States respectively to maintain State government, it has become the duty of Congress, standing in the stead of government, where the principal has made a lapse, to provide for government in republican form; now, therefore, in order to declare the duty of Congress,

Resolved, That whenever a Convention is called in any of such States for the organization of a government, the following persons have a right to be present therein, to-wit: The citizens of the State who have taken no part in the rebellion, especially all those whose exclusion from the ballot-enough the rest to carry the State Government, and more especially those who became soldiers in the rebellion of the Union; and by their valor on the battle-field turned the tide of war and made the Union triumphant; and Congress must refuse to sanction the proceedings of any Convention called in any of the rebel States by men recently engaged in arms against the Union, and including men who periled their lives, in

WHEREAS, the Congress, by a vote of two thirds of both Houses, did heretofore propose to the Legislatures of the several States, while the rebellion was in progress, the following resolution, to wit: "ARTICLE XIII.
"SEC. 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."
"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

AND WHEREAS, At the time when such amendment was submitted, as well as since there were sundry States which, by reason of rebellion, were without Legislatures; so that while the rebellion was in progress, the constitutional form it was not ascertained to be, made to all the States, but to the "Legislatures of the several States," in obedience both to the letter and spirit of the provision of the Constitution authorizing amendment, while the rebellion was in progress, the Legislatures of States than there were States, and whereas, since the Constitution expressly authorizes amendments to be made, any construction thereof which would render void the amendments at times impossible, must violate both the letter and its spirit; and whereas, to require the ratification to be by States without Legislatures, as well as by the "Legislatures of the States," in order to be pronounced valid, would be to require the States to suspend rebellion to suspend not only the peace of the nation, but its Constitution also; and whereas, from the terms of the Constitution and the nature of the case, it being the duty of Congress to determine the time when such ratification is to be made, whereas, more than three-fourths of the Legislatures to which the proposition was made have ratified such amendment; now, therefore,

Resolved, That notwithstanding the foregoing resolution, and considering the great public interest which attaches to this question, the Legislatures which have not ratified the amendment be permitted to express their concurrence therein by the usual form of ratification, and in the usual manner.

Resolved, That no one of the States to the Legislatures of which such amendment could not be submitted, by reason of its being without a Legislature, be permitted to have and having no Legislature, be permitted to resume its relations and have its Senators and Representatives admitted until its Legislature shall have first ratified such amendment in recognition of the accomplished fact.

DUTIES OF CONGRESS TOWARD LOYAL CITIZENS IN THE LATE REBEL STATES.

Resolutions declaratory of the duty of Congress, especially in respect to loyal citizens who have returned to the States.

WHEREAS, It is provided by the Constitution, that "the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government;" and whereas, there are certain States where, by reason of rebellion, there are no State governments recognized by Congress, and the people, because of the failure of such States respectively to maintain State government, it has become the duty of Congress, standing in the place of guarantor, where the principal has failed, to provide permanent republican form; now, therefore, in order to declare the duty of Congress,

Resolved, That whenever a Convention is called in any of such States for the organization of a government, the following persons have a right to be present, to wit, namely: The citizens of the State who have taken no part in the rebellion, especially those whose exclusion from the ballot enabled the rest to carry the State Government, and men especially those who became soldiers in the United States Army; and by their valor on the battle-field turned the tide of war and made the Union triumphant; and Congress must refuse to sanction the proceedings of any Convention recognized by Congress, if any men recently in arms against the United States, including men who periled their lives in its defense, unless its proceedings have been first approved by those hereby declared to be entitled to participate.

And whereas, the Constitution of the United States, being supreme over State laws and State Constitutions, in respect of these matters upon which it speaks, and the duty being now imposed by it on Congress to legislate for the establishment of

government in such States respectively. It is hereby declared that no supposed State law or State Constitution can be set up as an impediment to the national power in the discharge of this duty.

And also it has become the duty of Congress to determine what is the republican form of government. It is hereby declared that no government of a State replete in rebellion can be accepted as republican. There were large numbers of citizens who have been a ways losers and losers. States are excluded from the elective franchise, and especially where the wounded soldier of the Union, with all his kindred and race, and also the kindred of others who were killed when the battle-fields where they died for their country, are thrust away from the polls to give place to the very men by whose hands wounds and death were inflicted; more particularly where, as in some of these States, the result would be to disfranchise a majority of the citizens who were always loyal, and give to the oligarchical minority recently engaged in carrying on the rebellion, the power to oppress the loyal majority, to the extent of driving them from their homes and depriving them of all opportunity of livelihood.

Resolved, That in all those cases where by reason of rebellion there is a lapse in the State government, and it becomes the duty of Congress to determine what is the republican form of government, no government can be accepted as "a republican form of government" where a large proportion of native-born citizens, charged with no crime and no fault of their own, are wholly unprepared, although compelled to pay taxes, and especially where a particular race is singled out and denied all representation, although compelled to pay taxes; more especially where such race constitutes the majority of the State, and the rights of the entire minority has forfeited its rights by rebellion; and more especially still where by such exclusion the oligarchical enemies of the Republic can practically compel it to support the rebel soldiers and national creditors, to whose interests it was indebted during a period of peril.

(From the Mason (Ga.) Journal and Messenger.)

Come and Let us Reason Together.

Why should most of the Northern newspapers pursue this line, with such vindictive and cruel animosity against the Southern people? They are so diligent in putting the worst possible construction upon all that we do or fail to do—impugning our faith, honor and integrity, and lampooning us directly or indirectly in every issue of their editorials, signs upon the freed blacks, and a general disposition to do mischief and make trouble for the Government? We ask these papers to reconsider all the facts and circumstances surrounding the war, with candor, and if they find, upon such review, that they are needlessly inflaming the popular hatred and mistrust of the South, to abate their malcontents.

Let them consider that since the surrender, the moderate arm of the Southern people all, without exception, have submitted themselves unreservedly to the will of their conquerors. No outbreak of any kind has indicated the slightest resistance to the rule of the victors, from the kitchen to the Capitol. The submission has been more complete than in any instance history records. The Saxon was in some cases stung into bloody though unavailing struggles with his Northern master; but here in the South, the negro, who by the Constitution drew sword—entitled by birth and covenant to the rights of freedom and self-government—have submitted without a solitary struggle to the revolution and control of all the rights of the United States. Is this fair? Is this temper and a behavior which should space for fair misconstruction, or should provoke denunciations from the conqueror? Could more be conceded? and thus having any interest of the Southern man at their backs, and no other resource, should they themselves without further abuse or misconstruction?

2. That in the particular charges of cruel and unfair designs upon the African race, and the attacks upon the rights of the Southern people, gives ample evidence of the belief that they are ill-founded. The events and discoveries of the late war must have satisfied the most bigoted Abolitionist that the negroes, as a class, have always been and are now, the most degraded and the Southern country. The most violent opponents of the system of slavery have confessed so much.

3. But third and lastly, we will present the strange common sense suggestion:—Is it not now, more than ever a matter of the plainest self-interest to the South that the negro should be prosperous and comfortable? If they are thrown upon society as paupers, vagrants or criminals, who must be kept under the heaviest guard, and feel the loss of production, and some of the elements of public disorder and ruin of the South, in the way of a diminished trade, but the South must pay for the subsistence of the negro, and the cost of a legal prosecution and punishment of the malefactor. If emancipation shall prove a remedied blunder, every man in the South will feel it in the loss of all his property—in the forfeiture of his entire stake in the common property of the United States. Five North men in Georgia, or in the South, capable of putting two and two together, who does not feel a much greater interest in the fortunes of the freed negro than the Northern man can possibly feel.

We are all under bonds, to the extent of our fortunes and our attachment to native soil, to make the negro, if possible, a comfortable, self-supporting and contented member of society. Do these better Northern men, who think they are so good and so ignorant not to recognize so patent a difference in the character, or the measure of the remedies proposed, to a means injurious to the negro, and a means by which the blacks, which no man feels, but which we can see any reason for feeling any spite against the race. It is not their fault they are free. Left alone they would have remained the same contented and happy people as they were before the war. If the Southern whites fall to see any remedy or agency in political suicide for the woe and wants of the free black, why should it be charged to bitter antipathy and hatred, and to the conclusion arising from more intimate knowledge of the character, capacity and necessities? We insist upon the justice of a fair, reasonable construction, and to the forbearance due to unresisting subjects of the North.